

THE AMERICAN.

WASHINGTON, APRIL 10, 1855.

"THE UNION OF THE UNIONISTS, FOR THE SAKE OF THE UNION!"

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WINTER DAVIS.

We take great pleasure in laying before our readers this week, the very able speech of this prominent and indomitable American. It commanded the most profound attention in the House, and will be universally read by those who concur in the views of Mr. Davis.

We are compelled to postpone, till next week, the excellent speech of Mr. GILMER, as we are using the type to work it off in pamphlet form.

MR. CRITTENDEN.

The Terre Haute (Indiana) *Daily Union* places the name of JOHN J. CRITTENDEN at the head of its columns as its candidate for President in 1860.

Mr. MORRIS, of Pennsylvania, has been kind enough to send us a copy of his speech on the Lecompton measure. Though short, it exhibits decided ability. His reasoning is clear and forcible; his illustrations classic, and in good taste; and his points striking.

Mr. M. sums up the whole question involved in this Lecompton matter, in a nutshell. He says:

"There is no other issue in this question, in my judgment, than the right of Congress to force an organic law upon a people against their express will. I insist that the voice of the people shall prevail; that it ought to exercise more influence over our deliberations than the wishes of the President; and that we shall violate every principle of popular government, if we sacrifice the dearest privileges of the people to the mandate of power."

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY.—The municipal election took place in Louisville, Kentucky, on Saturday last. The telegraph being slow in furnishing returns we find them in the papers of Monday, which have reached us by mail. The Journal states that the election passed off quietly, and all the American candidates were chosen, not excepting a single ward. The Democrats (a defeated party) contend that there were various outrages and assaults.

AMERICAN VICTORY.—The election for municipal officers at Annapolis, on Monday, resulted in a complete American Victory. In view of the money spent, and the death-like struggle of the unfettered democracy, we hardly expected so signal a triumph though repeatedly assured of success.

RHODE ISLAND.—At the State election held yesterday, (April 8), the entire American Republican ticket for State officers was elected. A majority of both branches of the Legislature has also been carried by the "union party."

HONOR TO THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES.—At New York on Friday night, one hundred and twenty guns were fired on the Battery, in honor of the one hundred and twenty representatives who voted for the CRITTENDEN-MONTGOMERY amendment.

PURCHASE OF MOUNT VERNON.—Richmond, Virginia, April 8.—A contract was formally entered into on the 6th instant by the ladies of Mount Vernon Association for the purchase of the Washington estate.

The Legislature adjourned to-day sine die.

MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin, April 7.—The charter election held here yesterday, resulted in the election of the whole of the people's ticket, by about one thousand majority.

SCENESCAPY, April 7.—The charter election held in this city yesterday, resulted in the election of the whole of the citizens ticket.

Some of the Opposition papers at the North insist that no war shall be made upon any portion of the Anti-Lecompton members of Congress, by the people of their respective districts, who are opposed to the Lecompton Constitution, in the next elections. How this may be, we cannot now force; but it is quite natural that those who act together in any great struggle against a common foe, should have thereafter a more charitable feeling, to say the least of it, towards each other than they had before, if they had previously been arrayed against each other, politically.

But it is not easy for men to forget political antipathies and old contests, even though sound policy should require it over so imperiously, and the success of their party should even depend upon it. We see, however, in England, not infrequently, the union of former antagonists, and ministers overturned thereby—new cabinets taking the places of the old, made up of the new allies: so that such things are not impossible.

Messrs. CRITTENDEN and BELL undoubtedly have a strong hold of the hearts of a large portion of the people of the United States at this time, having won their confidence and attachment by their patriotic course upon the Kansas-Lecompton bill; and so have Messrs. HENRY MARSHALL, UNDERWOOD, GILMER, H. WINTER DAVIS, RICARD, and HARRIS, of the House, whose votes were necessary to defeat the bill.

Mr. BELL has to encounter violent, and even virulent opposition in this State, where a portion of the opponents of the Administration advocate the Lecompton bill with as much zeal, and apparently with as much of feeling towards those differing from them as the most thorough Buchananites. This places him in a very unpleasant position. It is easy for a statesman to follow the dictates of his own judgment, and do his duty according to his own views of it, when he is sustained by the friends with whom he acts politically; but when he is deprived of the countenance, approbation, and support of a portion of his own political associates, his position is then a trying one at least; and he must look to his own breast for consolation and support, waiting till "the sober second thought" of the people shall produce a change in his favor. We cannot see how any candid and reasonable man, who will carefully read Mr. BELL's speech upon the Lecompton question, can come to any other conclusion than that to which his view of the facts led him. But we are well aware that the opinions of many, in public life especially, are formed, not from a fair and candid examination of the subject or question under consideration, but from their surroundings, and from calculations of the effect which the course they take may have upon their future prospects. Hence it is, that speeches, no matter how logical, how demonstrative, how unanswerable, delivered in Congress, have so little influence upon the minds of men.

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS THE GOVERNMENT AND MUST BE MAINTAINED."

Such is the arrogant and imperial title of an equally imperious, arrogant, boastful, and as sumptuous article in the *Union* of Saturday last. It is put forth in the form and style of an autocratic rescript, or ukase, and doubtless every mother's son who believes in the "Divine right" of the Democratic party, not only to rule the country, but to enslave the mind of every member of that party, will bow in humble submission and acquiescence.

But the *Union*, in its swelling arrogance, forgets a thing or two. We quote:

"The mission of the Democracy! three quarters of a century of Democratic government in America—three quarters of a century of union of its people under one system, without the alteration of a single word or letter of their organic law!"

"Their organic law!" The Constitution is here meant—an instrument which the party now calling itself the Democratic party, most strenuously opposed. Parties then first rose, and were denominated Federalists and Anti-Federalists. The Federalists were the Anti-Federalists opposed to its adoption. But, failing to defeat it, and finding the name an unpopular one, they dropped it and took that of *Republicans*—in some places that of *Democrats*; and were denominated by their opponents *Democrats* and *Jacobins*, as they had instituted Democratic or Jacobin Clubs, in imitation of the Jacobin Clubs of France during the revolution in that country.

The black cockade—the national cockade, and worn by Washington and all other officers of the Army during the revolutionary war, and down to a much later period, was the distinctive badge of the Federalists; while the tri-colored, French cockade was worn by their opponents.

We suppose the *Union* would claim WASHINGTON as a Democrat; but he was anything but a Democrat, and was reviled by that party down to the day of his death, as if he had been a traitor to his country, rather than a patriot. If any one doubts this, let him read the three campaign pamphlets of 1800, written and published in Richmond, Virginia, entitled, "The Prospect before us." Let him read also the Democratic papers of that day, and especially "The Aurora"—Bache's paper, published in Philadelphia—which contains an article, published a very few days after Washington's death, exulting at the event! We have seen, read, and copied it, and know of what we speak.

The young man who furnishes editorials for the *Union*—but under the pay of the Government—rides a tall horse; let him take care not to get a fall. He had better "post himself," or he may run against a post, in the shape of a historic fact.

"THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS THE GOVERNMENT AND MUST BE MAINTAINED."

Hear ye that, ye hundred thousand officeholders! Ye who have bowed and bowed, and bowed, till your backs are as limber as a willow twig—hear ye that!

That is the note you have to sing; that the doctrine you have to swear to; that the article of faith which is hereafter to be professed by every man who fears communication, and the anathemas of the great head of the Democratic Church more than he fears infamy.

It is written: there it stands recorded, "by authority." Down upon your knees, then, and cry "great is Diana of Ephesus;" or "great is JAMES the First, the head of the Democratic party." No matter if he did once swear that if he thought he had a single drop of Democratic blood in his veins, he would instantly let it out; you need not remember that; JAMES the First is the Democratic party; the Democratic party is the Government, and must be maintained!

THE TROUBLES OF THE UNION.

The Union is greatly troubled at a shadow—the shadow of a coalition—which is to take place between three "high contracting powers" severally represented by Senators CRITTENDEN, DOUGLASS, and SEWARD.

The Union, we suppose, will admit that men, and the thasses they represent, who have long acted antagonistically, do not unite and act together on ordinary occasions. There must be something extraordinary—some great interest at stake, or principle involved—to bring such men together. But they have been brought together for the time being; they have voted together—acted in union. Why? Because a great wrong, as they believed, was to be perpetrated by the Administration, if it could command votes enough in the two branches of Congress to effect its purpose. This wrong they were determined to prevent, if they could, and in resisting it, they were maintaining the great principles of Republican Government—liberty of the people to make their own organic laws; they were resisting usurpation, fraud, and tyranny. However they might differ on other matters, this was one that, with true American feelings in their bosoms, they could not differ upon. There is an instinct in the breast of every true lover of freedom, which prompts him, on the instant, to resist aggression and usurpation; and that instinct, together with the attempt of the Administration to impose a constitution upon the people of Kansas which is odious to them, and upon which they have never been allowed a fair opportunity to vote, brought together those whose union so troubles the major organs of the Administration. Whether they will act together hereafter or not, will depend upon the course of the Administration. If the latter should unexpectedly become what it ought to be—just, conservative, conciliatory—disposed to respect the rights of the people, and leave them "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way"—if it will turn its attention to, and use all its efforts to promote the great agricultural, commercial, and industrial interests of the country—if it will cease to use the patronage of the Government to buy up partisans and supporters, and endeavor to win, by deserving, the confidence and respect of the nation, we vouch for it, there will be no such coalition as now disturbs the repose of the President and his organ. Leading men combine to resist tyranny and usurpation, and the people follow them when the protection of the people's rights brings them together.

We welcome among our exchanges those sterling, sound, conservative papers, the Baltimore *Patriot* and Memphis *Enquirer*. There are many excellent papers in various parts of the country to which the extension of the Washington City *American* has not yet become known, but will be one of these days.

A LETTER FROM MR. WEBSTER.

In one of Mr. Webster's private letters—February 4, 1849—he says:

"My life has been an unimportant one, and my stock of information never large. Nor have we had in this country associations, clubs, &c., where conversation has been cultivated. And yet I have often wished that what has passed, when I have been with some eminent men, on some occasions, could be recalled and preserved."

"Mr. Gore, Mr. King, Mr. Mason, the Buckminsters—father and son—Chief Justice Marshall, Chancellor Kent, Judge Story, Mr. Madison, Samuel Dexter, Mr. Gaston, &c., &c., have all said things worthy to be remembered; and yet only some of them have left anything valuable on record. Of Mr. Ames's conversation, I am not old enough to have heard much. Jeremiah Smith was, perhaps, the best talker I have been acquainted with; he was full of knowledge—of books and of men, had a great deal of wit and humor, and abhorred silence as an intolerable state of existence."

"When I first came here, [Washington,] there were several old men in Congress, whose remembrance of public things went back beyond the Revolution; such as Colonel Pickens, Mr. Findlay of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Sherman of New Jersey. With these, it used to delight me to pass time. I was young and eager to learn; they had well-stored memories, and were willing to talk. Egbert Benson was also a very pleasant and communicative man. He delighted to converse about New York things—before and during the revolutionary war. I ought not to forget John Adams, of whose conversation I heard but little; but that little was always striking. I think, if his conversation could be collected, it would do him more credit than his writings or his speeches."

"In the small and obscure circle of my early days, I remember several, both men and women, by whom my attention was always fastened, so that when I could hear them talk, I would neither work nor play. John Bowen, of whom you have heard me speak as having been a prisoner with the Indians; Robert Wise, a Yorkshire man, who had been round the world in the English service—army and navy; Geo. Bayly, a yeoman of humor and mimicry; and some neighboring women who had lived on the border from the falling of the first trees. Oh! I shall never hear such story-telling again!"

"DANIEL WEBSTER."

This is an interesting, instructive, and suggestive letter: "Nor have we had in this country associations, clubs, &c., where conversation has been cultivated." This is very true; and we have, therefore, very few good talkers. Mr. Clay was a good talker; so were Mr. Webster, Mr. J. Q. Adams, and Mr. Clayton. Mr. Calhoun would have been, had he not kept all the talk to himself, and rather taught than talked. But, as a general thing, we do not cultivate the accomplishment of conversation; we are generally too dogmatic—too positive, too much disposed to argue every point and proposition, too much matter-of-fact, and have too little humor, wit, badinage, and pleasantry. Nor are we eminently a social people. What was said of us by a distinguished European, has some truth in it: namely, that we are rather gregarious than social.

The men of the Revolution, of whom Mr. Webster speaks, have now all passed away, and there are few who have had the privilege of listening to their animated and non-stirring accounts of the scenes and times of '76. Much cause we have to lament that the conversations of such men as he has named, and hundreds of others, could not have been preserved! The conversation of the Adamses, J. and J. Q., of Jefferson, of Madison, of Hamilton, of Jay, of Marshall, of Mason, of Gaston, of John Randolph—what a priceless volume they would have made! It was the lot of the writer, in his boyhood, to listen to the conversations of those who had lived and borne an active part in the Revolution; and even to hear old men tell the tales of "the old French war" of 1745, and relate accounts of bloody Indian battles, of ambuscades, night attacks, accompanied with the hideous and appalling yells of the savage foe, of their carrying off their wives and daughters as prisoners, and of the sufferings of the latter while among the savages. As Mr. Webster says, at such times we could neither work nor play, and would any time rather sit down on the ground and listen to old Moses Johnson, who had had many a brush with the Indians, whose wife had been a prisoner among them two years, and who was one of Starke's men at the battle of Benning, than to play ball, or "tag," or to pitch quoits with our companions.

There is an originality and a raciness about those whose lives have been spent in the woods, or on the borders of civilization, which cannot be found in society, where every individual is made, by conventional forms and usages, and the tyranny of opinion, like every other individual; just as pebble stones eternally rolled together, lose all distinctiveness and are just alike. An original character, and original thinker; one who dare express thoughts different from the general opinion of society, is a rare thing; and, being a rarity, usually attracts much attention. By the way, the Kentuckians, men and women, are the best talkers of any portion of our people that we know of.

KANSAS IN THE HOUSE.

The Kansas bill was taken up again in the House on Thursday. The question was, will the House adhere to its amendment? (rejected by the Senate.) Upon this the previous question was ordered and sustained. The vote was then taken on the motion to adhere, and carried—ayes 119, nays 111—the same members voting as they did on the CRITTENDEN amendment, except two—Colonel Marshall, of Kentucky, and Bowie, of Maryland, who paired off.

Thus the Senate and House are now deadlocked on this bill. A Committee of Conference is the next step; but we do not suppose either branch will give way, or compromise, and if not, the bill falls between them.

CONNECTICUT STATE ELECTION.

The State election which has just taken place in Connecticut, has resulted in the election of three out of five of the individuals nominated by the Republicans for State officers. These three being considered sound Americans—two of them professedly belonging to that party—were voted for by the *Americans* of the State; the other two, not being supported by the *Americans*, are defeated. The Republicans thought themselves strong enough to ignore Americans, but they have been taught a useful lesson by the result.

THE AMERICAN.—This is the title of one of the spiciest and most independent papers we receive. It is published at Washington, within the shadow of those great buildings that contain those pseudo American patriots of Buchanan and Co., that always prefer an ignorant and dishonest foreigner to a native intelligent and industrious American citizen. The subscription is only \$2.—*Eastern Free Press.*

DOINGS OF CONGRESS.

The Senate has been actively engaged on general business during the past week, and among other things, has passed a bill establishing an Auxiliary Guard of police in this city of one hundred men, to protect persons and property. The bill was yesterday before the House. It gives the appointment of these men and their head to the President, who, we should think, had power enough here now.

The Pacific railroad bill was under discussion in the Senate on Thursday; and also the bill for the benefit of schools in this city. The bill for the enforcement of mechanics liens, underwent some discussion.

In the House the bill making appropriations for deficiencies was, on Wednesday, defeated.

On Thursday the bill came up as the regular order of business, the pending question being the motion of Mr. Garnet, of Virginia, to recommit the bill and amendments to the Committee of Ways and Means, with certain instructions. A motion to lay the bill on the table was lost—ayes 43, nays 148—and then the motion to recommit was disagreed to, yeas 101, nays 109. The bill was then ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, but on its passage was rejected, the vote being yeas 106, nays 124.

This vote was yesterday reconsidered, and the bill was passed.

The principal doings in Congress will be found in our remarks upon the Minnesota and Kansas bills.

MINNESOTA.

The Senate, after some days discussion, passed, on Wednesday last, the bill to admit Minnesota as a State. An effort was made to confine the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, but in vain. Senators KENNEY and CRITTENDEN earnestly advocated this amendment, and the former spoke at length upon it, quoting largely in his speech from the speech of Mr. Calhoun, delivered in the Senate on the 2d of April, 1836—to be found in the *Works of Mr. Calhoun*, page 496 to 505. This speech was delivered on the bill to admit Michigan under the constitution she had formed, which gave to *aliens* resident six months in the State, &c., the right to vote.

Mr. Calhoun's unanswerable argument to the contrary notwithstanding, Congress sanctioned this unconstitutional provision, and it has been sanctioned ever since, down to the present moment. This shows most conclusively that the influence of aliens and naturalized citizens in the United States is already irresistible; that no argument, no reasoning, can stand against it. Senators from the Northwestern States whose population is so largely made up of foreign born citizens, dare not vote to give a construction to the Constitution such as the fathers of the Republic clearly intended it should have, and the Democratic party has so long courted and caajoed these foreign-born citizens, and been, in return, kept in power by their aid, that no thorough-going Democrat can be persuaded to restrict the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, although, as Mr. Calhoun has said, the right to remove alienage belongs exclusively to Congress, and cannot be exercised by a State. "It follows," says Mr. C., "that a State cannot make an alien a citizen."

"To suppose this, or to present the question more specially, can confer on him the right of voting, would involve the absurdity of giving him a direct and immediate control over the action of the General Government, from which he has no right to claim protection," and, we will add, against which he cannot be guilty of treason, because he owes it no allegiance.

If the most clear, cogent, logical reasoning—clear to demonstration—could convince the human mind, beset with political prejudices, and bound down to inaction by party affiliations and dogmas, then we could wish that Mr. Madison's reason for conferring the power on Congress to pass uniform naturalization laws and Mr. Calhoun's and Mr. Clayton's speeches on this subject might be placed in the hands of every American born citizen in the Union. But reason and demonstration are powerless against political dogmas, and political policy; for men convinced against their will are of the same opinion still.

The Constitution of the United States has become a mere nose of wax, to be moulded into any shape that suits the inclination of the majority for the time being.

Sensors CRITTENDEN, HOUTON, and BROWN voted for the bill, protesting against that part of the Constitution of Minnesota allowing alien suffrage. Senator KENNEY voted against the bill on that account.

Mr. CRITTENDEN said it was useless to argue this subject. Mr. Calhoun's argument was conclusive, and so clear and logical a demonstration that nothing could be added. Suffrage, he said, was the peculiar right of citizenship; and the main privilege which it conferred, and the right to remove the disability of alienage was the exclusive right of Congress.

CRIME.—The calendar of crime presents almost daily some shocking instances of depravity. Scarcely a newspaper is printed that does not contain a record of violence. Two men are under arrest for the murder of an unknown young man, whose body was found in the dock at the foot of Benning street. In Brooklyn a man named Miller has been arrested for hiring another to set fire to his house with a view to secure the insurance.—*New York Correspondence of the National Intelligencer.*

This is the story everywhere—in every part of our country. Is the experiment of popular government a failure? Some say so: that if the laws were only executed, crime would be repressed. Aye, there's the rub. But the laws are not enforced, and are not likely to be. Judges elected by the multitude will not do it; officers elected by the people, including the rowdies and rascals, won't do it; juries composed of rowdies and rascals, often times, won't do it; how, then, can the laws be executed, the guilty arraigned, convicted, and punished? Bribery and corruption have poisoned the very sources of justice, and if judges on the bench have no "itching palms," jurors and prosecuting attorneys are strongly suspected of screening guilty for gold; since it is as hard to get a rich man into the door of a State's prison, as it is for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle. There is no security for life or property in any of our cities, for even the watchmen employed to protect us, are sometimes the accomplices of the burglars, incendiaries, and assassins who prey on our streets.

There is but one Judge whose tribunal these villains fear, and whose stern decrees cause their knees to smite together with terror.

Modern skill has culminated in Ayer's Life. Invention did its best in this production. A mastery art has combined the subtle essences of remedial agents in a compound that penetrates to the foundations of disease, and expels the very seeds of disorder from the blood. Such a remedy was needed, and since we have it, we want our readers to know what it is.

AN ABOLITIONIST THEN—A GOOD REPUBLICAN NOW.

When Mr. JAMES BROOKS, of New York, was a candidate for Congress, and was elected, he was known to be decidedly opposed to the Free-Soilers and Abolitionists of the North, though by no means a pro-slavery man. His opponent on that occasion was no other than JOHN COCHRAN, a nephew, we have understood, of Gerrit Smith, and at that time as decided an Abolitionist—at least he was understood to be—as his uncle.

Where is he now? Chairman of the Democratic caucuses of the House, and laboring with all his might to fasten upon the people of Kansas a constitution which such men as Giddings, Grow, Mott, Tompkins, Burlingame, Colfax, Wilson, and others of the House, and Hale, Seward, and others of the Senate, oppose, because they affirm that it establishes slavery where the Missouri Compromise prohibits it.

COL. BENTON IS DYING.

An old and intimate friend called upon him, and though scarcely able to move hand or foot, found him hard at work dictating the last chapter of his "debate of Congress."

"Resting a few minutes from the task, Col. Benton entered into conversation with his friend. He told him that in reviewing the events of 1850 he was glad to find that the animosities of the past had died out in his heart, and he was not nearly ready yet to do justice to the great services Mr. Clay had rendered to the Republic at that time by battling and putting down the traitorous secessionists of the South, who were seeking to destroy the Union and plunge the country into civil war for their own selfish and ambitious purposes."

"The inspiration of this theme fired the languid blood and reanimated for a moment the failing frame of the dying patriot. In energetic whispers, he told his visitor that the same men who had sought to destroy the Republic in 1850 were at the bottom of this accused Lecompton business. Among the greatest of his consolations in dying was the consciousness that the House of Representatives had baffled these traitorous schemers, and put the heels of the people on the necks of the traitors."

We learn with extreme sorrow and regret that Col. Benton breathed his last (Saturday) morning, at an early hour.

REORGANIZATION OF THE CRIMINAL COURT.—The following memorial is now being circulated throughout the District, and has received a large number of signatures:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives: The undersigned, citizens and residents of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, most respectfully represent that, in view of the frightful violations of law and order now and for a considerable time prevailing in these our once peaceful cities; and believing that the manner in which our criminal laws have been for several years past, and are at the present time administered, is the principal, if not the entire, cause of these outrages: 'We therefore, most respectfully pray your honorable bodies to take the subject into your most earnest and serious consideration, and we will ask, in conclusion, that you will enact a law to reorganize our Criminal Court in this District. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.'"

The maladministration of our criminal laws, and the inefficiency of the metropolitan police, are undoubtedly the cause of the frightful increase of crime in this District, and we trust that Congress will give this memorial a serious consideration when it is presented. So long as the leniency of those entrusted with the enforcement of the laws is proverbial, so long may we despair of seeing "law and order" restored in the National Metropolis, and have almost daily additions to the bloody catalogue of crime.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

The inefficiency, corruption, and centralizing Federalism of the Buchanan party, is arousing the people all over the country to an organized opposition. This results from the Administration being purely one of policy to the utter disregard of principle; hence, like the works of the devil, it will speedily come to naught. Governments, like individuals, must be honest to prosper, for neither can take abiding hold upon public confidence without having that "bright spirit and pure," which dars ever to go right.

We must go back to the ideas of our revolution, fathers, which have been more or less disregarded since the days of Jackson, but now entirely repudiated by the dominant party. When the present Administration was inaugurated, little more than one year ago, the country was in the full tide of prosperity; now, factories, mills, and farms are stopped; the rewards of agricultural labor have declined; the expenditure of the Federal Government has largely increased; the Treasury has been made bankrupt, and a discord produced among the States which alienates confidence in the Union.

It is time that a change come; that we cast off the demoralizing and degrading policy which is ruling and ruining the country, and inaugurate a national party which makes honesty and capability a test for office, which virtue owns, and which secures the greatest good to the greatest number.—*Memphis Eagle and Enquirer.*

THE Washington *Union*, of the 27th, has an article replete with virulent and vindictive abuse of Senators BELL and CRITTENDEN, on account of their refusal to support the President's policy of dragging Kansas, chained and manacled, like a culprit, into the Union, with the Lecompton Constitution. As the *Union* is, virtually and notoriously, the mercenary mouth-piece of the President, the credit of this indecent onslaught belongs to Mr. BUCHANAN himself.

Mr. BUCHANAN could not more strikingly exhibit his unfitness for the exalted position he occupies, than by the unworthy measures he takes to sustain himself in it. Regarding the Presidency as the reward of party subservience, he employs its privileges only to perpetrate party supremacy. Instead of being the Chief Executive of the Republic, he has degenerated into the docile instrument of a coterie. His friends call him a JACKSON; but he trembles at the name of JEFFERSON, because he had done what he told him to do. In proportion to his slavishness to fire-eating traitors, is his insolence to honest patriots. He smiles on HAMMOND and TOMPKINS, who advocate secession, and sneers at CRITTENDEN and BELL, when they venture an earnest appeal in behalf of the integrity of the Constitution.

CRITTENDEN and BELL were once his companions and his superiors in the Senate. Both are venerable men, whose record the field breath of partisanship, even cannot stain. The commonest propriety and the cruelest courtesy would demand from Mr. BUCHANAN the courteous dignity in the treatment of his old companions. But he outrages propriety and violates courtesy, by allowing his organ, edited by Mr. ARMITAGE, his Assistant Secretary of State, to vent the coarsest abuse upon men who are as superior to him in moral integrity as they are in intellectual ability. Such attacks will not hurt the Senators at whom they are leveled; but they will rebound with damaging effect on the President.—*St. Louis Evening News.*

A JUST, BUT SEVERE REBUKE.

It will be remembered that some two weeks ago the majority of the Senate undertook to compel a vote to be taken on the Kansas bill, or compel the minority to agree that it should be taken on Saturday, closing the debate when there were a number of Senators yet to speak upon it. Well, the majority refused to adjourn, and a night session was the consequence. About three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Simmons and other Senators were sent for, awoke out of a sound sleep, and required to come to the Senate. When Mr. S. arrived, Mr. Benjamin was speaking, and the content of his remarks may be inferred from the following paragraph, and from Mr. Simmons's reply:

"Mr. B. said: Now, sir, this resolution having already commenced by the party known as the Republican party in the Senate, the question is submitted for the serious consideration of the majority. A mere physical contest never was contemplated as a legitimate means of determining the public business of the country. How long is this to last? How long is it consistent with the dignity of the majority to permit it to last? And what is the remedy?"

"Mr. President, for hours the factious minority of this Senate have folded their arms, and pursued the course which I have just mentioned. I know of but one remedy; my reflections on the subject suggest to me but one thing to do. It is for the majority of the Senate to leave this Hall, and, with a message left behind to the minority that when they will please to permit the business of the country to go on, and will send me word, they will come back, leaving it to them to break up the Government. I know of no other course."

"Mr. SIMMONS. I have no disposition to prolong this debate; but inasmuch as I was absent, and there seems to be some reflection cast on those who were absent and left the Senate without a quorum, I wish to make a suggestion. It is the duty of the Senate to consider the question of the majority of the Senate, and the majority of the Senate, as I understand the explanation of the Senator from Louisiana, to put the case before the country—alluding, I suppose, to those who happened to be absent from physical necessity. He proposes to raise the question in the Senate, and suggests to the majority of the Senate to commence the business of revolution in this country by leaving this body without a quorum. It is well known that the majority party in the Senate is unusually large; they have two to our one. I had supposed that there was a sort of tacit understanding that we should sit six hours a day; and the Senator from Texas proposed that we should begin our daily sessions hereafter at eleven o'clock, and that was laid over. At the hour of six o'clock, last evening, when I had sat here six hours, I proposed an adjournment, supposing that was the understanding of the majority. It was refused. Having put myself under the care of a physician, I had to submit to his rules; and although I wanted to stay here as long as endurance would permit, I had to leave the Senate Chamber."

"When I came back at the request of the Senate, I was ready to give my excuse, but the Senator from Louisiana, voted for a proposition to enable me to do so. I voted not to lay these motions on the table, because I desired to make an excuse to the Senate."

"The Senator from Louisiana now proposes to the forty-four members of this body, composing the majority, to withdraw and leave the responsibility on the minority of this body, in order to propose to go before this country upon the friends of the Administration in power have two thirds of the Senate; and unless they can have their own way about transacting the business of the Senate, they propose to leave the body without a quorum, pretending at the same time that the majority are revolutionaries, and conduct because some of us are too sick to stay here to undergo a trial of physical endurance, when they can out vote us and half of them asleep!"

Sir, I do not choose to submit to the imputation of being disposed to be factious when I leave here from mere physical inability to remain. I make no factions whatever in this body, or in any other body. If I had known that the rule of the Senate required it, I should have felt it my duty to ask leave of absence from the Senate while I could take the necessary rest to secure my health. I shall do that hereafter. No man in this body, nor any citizen of this country, shall ever have an opportunity to make a body of imputation upon me as that I undertake to break down the deliberative action of this body. If men cannot, and choose to try a contest of physical endurance here, let the responsibility be with them, not with me. I never did such a thing in my life, and I never will do it."

But, sir, it is not possible for men to sit here all day. It is most unreasonable to require that Senators to remain here during the twenty-four hours of the day, to talk to empty benches, while gentlemen of the majority may go away and rest part of the time, having watchmen to wake them up when the yeas and nays are called. Sir, I should have attempted to address the Senate on this bill before now, but I have often seen gentlemen on this side of the Chamber addressing empty benches on the other side. I attempted to get the floor in an irregular manner to make a few suggestions on this question, early in the session, but we were interrupted to let the Army bill pass, and the President's message go by, and without our remarks until the Kansas bill should come regularly before us. I always take such a suggestion as conclusive on me, because I think that is the most proper way to debate a question in the Senate. I have not said a word on this subject since the commencement of the session, and I have refrained at the suggestion of gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber, who said it was more appropriate that the debate should be deferred until the measure was fairly before us. I desire at some proper time to say something upon this bill; I do not mean to occupy a great deal of the time of the Senate, on any subject; but I desire to speak, because a great many imputations have been cast upon those with whom it is my pride and pleasure to act. We are told that this man speaks our sentiments, and that man speaks our sentiments. Sir, no man speaks my sentiments in this body, unless it is the Senator from Rhode Island, on this side of the Chamber. I do not converse with others about their purposes; but I do not believe there has been entertained on this side of the Chamber a purpose to protract this debate one minute longer than was necessary